10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
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CULTURAL PATTERNS AND TECHNICAL CHANGE

A Manual prepared by
The World Federation
for Mental Health,
and edited by
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[Title page]

UNESCO

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GREECE[1]

The culture of the Greeks is here presented as an integrated whole. The Greeks have been selected out of the European nations now engaged in introducing technical change, because they represent a unique case. They have the most ancient civilization of the European continent, yet their technical development at present is one of the lowest. The history of their industries and factories goes back more than 2,500 years; yet they now resist industrialization. They are European, yet they look toward the Middle East and share a number of attitudes with the people of this area. They are Christians but with a special kind of Christianity, highly ritualized and impersonal, and incorporating much of local origin.

Individualism is prized and rampant; yet there is no atomization. Self-esteem is paramount, and rests on freedom and self-dependence; yet Greeks do not seek freedom from the family, and do not lose self-esteem when they are dependent on the family. They have their own unique individualism. They are highly co-operative, but the basis and formulation of their co-operative activity are different from those of the Western European nations.

[1] The study of Greek culture is based largely on interviews, correspondence, and memoranda, conducted and prepared in the autumn and winter of 1950-51. Newspapers and magazines of this time were also consulted. Two Maternal and Child Care Manuals of recent years, several collections of folk songs, and a popular humorous work were intensively analysed. Accounts by people engaged in introducing change were consulted. The writer, herself a Greek by birth and upbringing, has depended also on her own firsthand experience of the culture. The manuscript was submitted to two Greeks for comment and criticism.

The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous, precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition, as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of this century, emigration to the United States provided the main solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth. Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population, even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction of change into this culture.

We give here a report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change.

Greece has been undergoing induced change for several decades now. Before 1920, the centralization of political and civil affairs effected profound and permeating change in village communities which had been used to self-regulation, and where a prominent farmer spent his entire fortune to build a village school, or a schoolteacher, on hearing of the appearance of the enemy in the vicinity, could, on his own initiative, pass out arms and lead his pupils to battle. After the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1922, the Near East Foundation, helping to rehabilitate the refugees, also undertook to introduce changes in sanitation, child care and the standard of living generally. Changes in the areas of agriculture and health were

[1] A. W. Gomme, 1945, p. 11.
[2] *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece*, 1947, p. 85. (*See* United Nations, FAO).
[3] Ibid. p. 134.
[4] Ibid. p. 162.

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have all been agents of change.

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called "old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition. In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants, who, though literate, have no high education.

People of different regions have a different way of life. The mountainous terrain, the absence of easy communication except coast-wise, differences in dialect and local history, and, most of all, the extreme personal independence of the people, have fostered tremendous variation from place to place. To the world at large, a man may be a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which he is very proud and for whose honour he competes with other villages. In the United States, Greeks from one village, such as Mani, have organized themselves in a nationwide organization. People from one small island speak of the people of the neighbouring island as queer or ill-mannered. This is as it should be; in Greek culture it is good for everyone to be different or, as the Greeks put it, to be individually formed.

The differences are there but the similarities are more basic. The Athenians, working by clock time, strain at their bonds, and do not

184 allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers,
369 announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it
[BCS] is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from
[177] old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

156 Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is im-
554 possible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of
577 this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior
[643] nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

156 On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be
619 ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right
186 and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along
577 with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo:* his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

156 The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek
195 addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or
577 his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

each fact wrapped in some subjective, protective covering. The fact is true and dependable, but it should not be naked. A memorandum of fact by a Greek is full of such phrases as: "Then the nobleness of the Greek soul was revealed," or "The Greek peasant modestly died . . . to protect his beloved country, but his death was one of the noblest sacrifices to the idea of liberty." Or, if Greeks have to criticize, they do it with oratory also, reviling passionately, as when a mother scolds a loved one with fury but not with cold and calculating anger.

The covering of the naked fact is essential to the integrity—the absence of all molestation—of the *philotimo*. The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope*, a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*.

The Greek *philotimo* should not be confused either with the notion of face or with that of pride. Pride for the Greeks carries with it the connotation of arrogance: "the proud bird is caught by the nose". A Greek mother is not proud of her son: she is honoured by him; the *philotimo* is enhanced through honour, not pride. There is something of the notion of face, in that it is insupportable to have one's failures and needs known. But there is more than this; what is really bad is that you yourself should expose your failure or yourself. And you have no *philotimo* if you avoid going to fight for your country, whether anyone knows this or not.

The essence of *philotimo* is inviolability and freedom. The first means that a Greek is very "touchy". In a very popular work of the thirties, which gives a humorous report of the cases in the Court of Petty Offences, a large proportion of the cases arise out of this molestation of the *philotimo*. The reaction is immediate, either in scathing invective, such as name-calling, or as physical attack. Offence against one's *philotimo* brings retaliation, not self-reproach. There are suicides in Athens for financial reasons, or for love, but none are reported as a result of a molested *philotimo*.

Freedom is the positive aspect of this. Greeks say: "To be a Greek means to be free," and "Nothing is beautiful unless you are free, not even the flowers in the spring."[1] It gave the Greeks a great sense of

[1] Joanne Lee Schriver, 1947.

freedom to defy Hitler, in the sure knowledge that their country would be overrun and occupied if they did so. During the occupation, they remained free; little children risked their lives to do absolutely unnecessary things such as defacing Nazi posters, giving expression to their essential freedom. The morale of the people was upheld by their knowledge that they had not forfeited their freedom, and that they had been defeated only technically, not man-to-man, but by monstrous machines. External coercion without internal submission has no bearing on the maintenance of the *philotimo*.

To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. Until the government centralized aid in the Department of Welfare, and to some extent thereafter, Greek families and communities took care of their own indigents or dependents. The Greeks who emigrated to the United States before the change and formed conservative communities in their new country continued to take care of their own unemployed and orphaned; they were adapting the village pattern; besides, their *philotimo* would not allow them to expose to outsiders their failure and inadequacy. However, Greeks will accept aid when it is their right within a structured relationship; they will accept it as their share from the nation for which they have fought, or from the nation which they have helped in its war against the forces of evil; and Greeks stand firm in the knowledge that they were vital in bringing about the defeat of the Nazis by delaying Hitler's plans. They will also accept help without losing their *philotimo* when the need comes through an act of God. Their ways of making a living are adequate under normal circumstances; but now, because of destruction, occupation, soil erosion, loss of the right to emigrate, they need technical assistance to achieve a standard of living which is their right as Greeks and as persons. They can accept help also because the need is common to all the Greeks. During the war they said, not "See what I have come to," but "See what the nation has come to!" and then their situation was bearable. The office which is in charge of the ECA activities now reminds the people of the different villages that the destruction has been nationwide, that the need applies to all the Greeks, and so makes it bearable, and saves their *philotimo*. More than this, the government now appeals for self-participation in rebuilding the homes and the villages in the name of their *philotimo* as Greeks; to exert themselves as their sons exerted themselves in war, "to show the world what the Greeks can do in peace as well as in war".

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IMAGERY OF SELF

The image of the self includes that of the body and of the personality: the person. Life is structured and experienced according to the rhythm and patternings of the body, and ethics are defined by personal relationships, loyalties and roles, just as society is structured according to the physiological relationships of the body. The imagery which a lover uses to describe the body of his beloved is that which is used to praise the personal qualities of an adored leader.

There is no reference to softness in any of the personal folk songs of the Greeks, the dystichs directed toward a loved one, the lullabies, the dirges composed for a relative. The beloved is commonly likened to a tree, sometimes to a fruit tree, but most commonly to a cypress—slim, straight, tall, hard, resistant—"I embrace a cypress tightly," sings a lover. The body is likened to hard, cold substances. The neck of the beloved is made of crystal; the breasts are of marble, in the rare references found in impersonal folk songs. A lover sings: "All night I lay embracing gold."

Firmness and straightness are extremely desirable personal qualities. Babies were swaddled to keep them from going crooked and to make their backs firm. The gesture of mother love is one of holding a firm, stiff, straight bundle against the breast, not the crooking of the arms to accommodate a cuddling body. Firm and straight also is the ideal personality. Parents are urged to be firm of will with their children from birth, and to see that the children develop steadfastness. When Eleutherios Venizelos died, the leading Athenian newspaper wrote: "The cypress is fallen."

Cold, also, is attractive as well as admirable. To call a girl "cold water" is to call her attractive and desirable. Coldness and flowers are on a par in the folk songs, and lovers walk together among the flowers, or on snowy slopes. Hotness means a lack of control, unthinking response. Grief is hot, and tears wither the grass and trees they water. Love as suffering also burns: a lover sighs and 3,000 trees burn up. It is common for a passing youth to say to a girl, "You burn my heart."

The body image is the image of the Greek character. Fortitude and hardihood, firm will, a love of simplicity in food, entertainment, furnishings, the standard of living in general, are common traits. Greeks will smoke only a few cigarettes a day, drink within measure and eat in moderation; excess is disliked. Fortitude is an ever-present quality; the *philotimo* brooks no calculation of danger or pending pain before a step is taken. If a thing is worth doing, the price to be paid for it is irrelevant; and you are able to do it because you are strong and firm. You do not even ask yourself ahead of time whether you have the necessary fortitude; a Greek takes no inventory of himself because from the time he was a baby, his parents saw to it that

he grew straight and hard, and because he knows himself to be a Greek. A current book on child care warns parents not to take many toys to a sick child, not to clown for his amusement, lest this spoil him. Going to bed also is a sign of weakness except for recognized disease. A man cannot seek solace in bed for fatigue or indisposition, lest he appear to be giving in to a desire for pampering. Even to fall asleep is to give in; the term is "sleep caught me".

It is difficult to give this picture attractively, to show how there is warmth within this firmness, exuberance within the austerity, and within the discipline. Yet discipline is a positive, liberating, guiding element in the Greek personality: the simple life is a joy and is also freeing, since it creates few demands, few dependencies on the external. Self-discipline and self-control are not prohibiting; they are incentive. They are not the application of discipline to the self, but rather a way of behaving. There is nothing inconsistent with these traits when, in voting on an important issue by roll call, a member of parliament answers, "Five thousand times, yes", or when white pigeons are released in the House by the victorious party. This is appropriate exuberance, just as the fiery reaction to a violation of the *philotimo* is appropriate and within the channel of discipline. There is joy and dignity in hard work, not compulsiveness; there is joy in walking an hour and a half to and from the field twice a day over difficult ground. American visitors are taken for a walk by a young Greek village girl or even a child, and return exhausted. There is a revelling in sheer exertion, in sheer fortitude. There is nothing grim about it, neither is there boasting. Greeks may boast about their achievements, but not of their character, which they take for granted as Greek.

The organs of highest significance are the eyes. They are the seat of the person. With them, lovers and friends communicate, and they are the pre-eminent medium of enjoyment. Love comes through the eyes, and the eyes are mentioned the most frequently in the personal poems. "We have not seen you" means "We missed you."

In the folk songs, a beloved's eyes shoot arrows, strike with a poisoned sword, catch a man in a net, they burn the heart or break it into pieces; they lead astray, they bewitch, they destroy. Glances are rarely sweet, and never soft or gentle, in the love dystichs. Here eyes are always black, perhaps because one is apprehensive if they are blue, the colour of the evil eye. It is difficult to overestimate the joy of sheer vision. The folk songs are full of the beauty of flowers and meadows and streams, of the sea with its fleet of sailboats, of the blue of the sky. In villages and towns, the people go strolling after work is done, calling this not a promenade, but *syryani*, "enjoyable viewing." When a long-absent loved one is returning, people congratulate, saying: "Light for your eyes."

Next to the eyes come the lips, but, red and sweet though they be, they are primarily important because of the words which come out

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of them. Like the eyes, they lead astray not through making false promises, but by engendering love. Speech is of extreme importance to the Greeks, since it establishes and fosters the all-important personal relationships. Almost everyone creates songs; love songs at the village festival, dirges, lullabies, songs of the way of life, songs of work, songs of one's village and of nature. It is important to find the graphic word in the most ordinary speech, and to turn a spicy phrase. Utterance will take the form of a small oration without creating self-consciousness; an answer is often incisive repartee. There are orations in the coffee house, and wherever a few people gather together. Even learned papers or scientific journals, when not under foreign influence, are often couched in oratory. *Couvenda*, conversation, is a recognized form of "passing the time", of entertainment, perhaps on a par with *syryani*. *Couvenda* is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of information. It is usually contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud; and loudness is such a familiar quality of conversation that radios are turned on much too loud for the ears of foreigners. A statement or a question is countered by a challenging question. Tact and gentleness have no part here, insults are hurled, attacks are made, within the appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinion, and its end is neither to reach the truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech.

The hair is a focus of erotic attraction. In the folk songs there is often the picture of a girl letting her hair down as a ladder hung for her lover. For the man, the moustache is a symbol of his manhood and attractiveness. The beard is not important, and in a folk song, a priest's wife calls her husband a bearded goat. A man without face hair is called a *Spanos*, and is a figure of derision in the folklore, and sometimes of fear.

Beyond the features of the head, very little of the body is mentioned in the personal folk songs. Genital organs must never be mentioned, and many women know no names for them. Out of over 400 love couplets analysed, only one mentions the breast, "your breast is like Paradise". Formally, as a general division of the body—the chest—the breast is named in the same way for men and women and the term can be used freely. In its form of a female breast it must not be mentioned, as none of the sexual areas are mentioned. Its functional term, however, the nursing-breast, *vyzi*, is commonly used without embarrassment and when a mother is nursing, there is no embarrassment about exposing the breast for suckling.

The sense of smell is extremely important to the Greeks. In the personal folk poems, there is much mention of sweet-smelling flowers, herbs, trees: "musk and cinnamon, a beautiful girl she is" says a rhyming game. An unexpected guest will be offered a "smell" of whatever the housewife is cooking, or the family is eating. And it

is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied. A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door; and in a grocery store, a customer often offers a "smell" of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer.

Orderliness is a highly valued quality. Love songs mention the orderly hair, the orderly teeth. The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours, giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or postures in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness, and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes. In houses which contain only one room, areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order. The Greek equivalent of "set to rights" or "all right" or "under control" is "in order".

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart, if not their basis, in the body. The body is never naked or, perhaps, only when absolutely necessary. Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once. The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion, but it is all a matter of hygiene; no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere. Conversely, dress, and particularly festive dress, "dress of splendour" and ornamentation, are of great importance, and in fact, are essential to complete the body. When beautiful girls are described, their clothing and their jewellery are given at least as much place as their bodily charms, and are not treated separately; and when a brave youth, a *pallicari*, is mentioned, his trappings are part of the picture. Jewellery and brilliant clothes, woven with gold and silver thread, figure largely in the lullabies, as well as in the love songs and wedding songs. And the lower world which holds no joy is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and incomplete.

The body and the self, the Greek person, delimit, pattern and give shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relatedness. They are extended along lines of concrete personal contact. Greeks travel, but mainly along a chain of personal relationships; they go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant, is concretely linked through persons with the original person. Progress is amelioration of the concretely experienced, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be introduced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of people along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

Figures on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when they refer to people, may even be offensive. Foundations, such as the Near

East Foundation, which have recognized this, have been successful in their relations with Greeks and in the introduction of desirable changes. They realized that they had to use not impersonal scientists but people who were predominantly leaders, with scientific knowledge, people who were willing to go and live in the villages, and make the acquaintance of the peasants over coffee in coffee houses. And the villagers fell in with the proposals for new hygienic methods and child care and artificial insemination because they had respect for and faith in the man who made the proposals. And where schemes introduced in the name of self-interest did not succeed, those introduced in the name of the respected leader did. "For your sake" is a common sanction. The continuous presence of the leader is not, however, necessary once the personal loyalty is there. In recent years, foreign experts have made the mistake of operating mainly from Athens, living in hotels catering to foreigners, of moving in foreign circles, and making no personal contact with the Greeks, thus creating difficulties for themselves and raising obstacles to the effectiveness of their missions. Greek families receiving CARE parcels impersonally, make great efforts to attach a person to the name of the sender; they often write very personal letters, trying to send photographs of themselves, "so that you can see us". In Greece there are no political bosses, since a man's vote is too personal, too much bound by personal loyalty, to be swayed by self-interest. On the other hand, we do find demagogues, who by sheer oratory and force of personality can inspire loyalty to themselves, and thereby, to their ideas. If there are irregularities at the polls, they come about not through the selling of one's vote, but through an attempt to vote several times in an impassioned effort to ensure the election of the chosen candidate.

Greek ethical conduct is personal also. A plea in the name of humanity or of kindness is meaningless to most Greeks; and only recently, in Athens, which has been affected by foreign ideas, did a plea in the name of the suffering peasants find true response. An organization called Friends of the Village was formed, and the aid given is by specific persons to specific people or families, in terms of a personal relationship. A peasant woman, writing to such a "Friend" in Athens, accepts the gift with ease and gratitude saying: "You are now my sister, and your family is my family."

Americans, who excel in impersonal kindness, are always surprised to see their human, warm, generous Greek friends remain unmoved and unresponsive in the face of suffering strangers. Greeks, on the other hand, are surprised to see their kind American friends giving according to figures on a piece of paper, according to what they can afford. In giving, Greeks deprive themselves of the very necessities of life, impoverish and even bankrupt themselves; but they recognize their responsibility to give only where personal relations are involved.

This is also true where truthfulness, honesty, loyalty and obedience

are concerned. Greek parents are agreed that the principal thing to teach their children is to be honest and to tell the truth; but this, of course, means to be honest in their dealings with their parents and other relatives and all the friends of these, and with people who value them and trust them as persons. Honesty in abstraction is not a virtue, and may even be branded as foolishness. Loyalty also is never to something abstract, like the government, which is equated with impersonal law. Loyalty is to the Greek nation, to Greece, the mother of the people, to personified freedom, but not to "the Greeks" who are unknown. Profiteering and dealings on the black market were not considered bad, because they circumvented only impersonal law and showed disloyalty only to the government and to the unknown Greeks; actually they were good in terms of the family, to whom an individual owes his loyalty.

Responsibility is not social responsibility but family responsibility, or it might be extended to friends and to the village. With loyalty evoked only in personal relations, it follows that Greeks cannot be impartial in awarding jobs or distributing goods. To take care of one's own first, irrespective of merit or of an order of priority, is one's duty; it means fulfilling one's role. Yet impartiality, just because it is so difficult to maintain in the face of strong forces and temptations to "bend", and devotion to an abstract ideal of honesty, just because it is saintly, are highly admired in Greece—though perhaps not by the immediate relatives of the impartial man. Such people inspire what amounts to worship.

Co-operation in this framework is actually mutual aid, one person helping the other, or it is loyalty to the leader who initiates a co-operative undertaking, with men contributing their work for his sake, and women bringing gifts to him, which can be used incidentally for the undertaking.

Obedience is very important and is taught to a child almost from birth; but again, this is obedience within a structured whole, to the parents, older siblings, and to people who stand in this relationship; that is, to friends of the parents or of older relatives, or appropriately introduced older people. Authority comes only from place in this structured whole, and obedience is only to people. Government is not personal, and the law is external to the organic, structured whole. It is not the voice of Greece. There is therefore no obligation to obey the law; the guide to conduct here is expediency, and the ability to circumvent. Before the political centralization, there was obedience and lasting loyalty to the schoolteacher. Now he represents only the interfering authority of the government, and it is an accepted thing that the students should try to circumvent his authority in every way they can, playing tricks on him and otherwise treating him as an enemy, since he is outside of the web of their loyalties.

WORK

Attitudes towards work, time, planning and spending arise also from the person or body as pattern and definition.

Work is life for the Greek. It is the person in function. Things like sports, weekends and vacations, or like "leisure" in the Western sense, are the recent introductions of foreigners. There are times when work or certain kinds of work are interdicted, but this is part of religion, not a claim to leisure time or idleness. And leisure is an attitude, a dimension of all work, and in fact, of all life; it is not confined to a time of day but is the constant expression of internal freedom while at work or at rest.

Diligence is part of the image of the self; it is a personal quality, warmly admired. To call a girl *procommene*, diligent, is to say something about her attractiveness. A poem which school children used to memorize spoke of the joyous little housewife, the little girl who got up early to set the house in order. There was nothing of the repellent goody-goody about her, and nothing strange about calling industriousness joyous. The Greek folk songs, often sung as accompaniments to the dance, picture such work situations: a group of young girls laundering at the beach, spreading the clothes and playing in the sand; or the woman singing at her loom. Folk tales make cruel fun of the lazy wife who comes to grief. Visitors to Greek villages bring back a picture of a busy, happy life, of the girls and women gossiping at the fountain in the village square as they wait their turn; of the mother weaving in the shade of the grape arbor while she watches the food cooking on the outdoor brazier, of her daughters working beside her and the little children running about, playing or running errands; of husband and wife walking to the fields an hour or so away, the little children running by their side, the swaddled baby hanging stiffly at the mother's hip, swinging with every step. They show a picture of shared family work as the medium of family life, as the way in which the growing child comes to belong to and identify himself with the unit of his birth.

Diligence is an internal attitude; it rests on self-discipline and free incentive, it includes interest and enjoyment. It does not mean a valuation of work for its own sake; it is the personal quality of diligence, not work itself, which is good. To work compulsively is to be a slave to work; and what can be worse than slavery? Even to work under the compulsion of work as a virtue is to deny oneself prized freedom; all work under pressure, such as the pressure of a time limit or the dictates of an employer, means loss of freedom. Industrialization and work in urban centres usually run counter to this value. Greeks who emigrated to the United States to earn money for their sisters' dowries, or for land needed by the family, worked incredibly long hours, but neither through external nor through inner compulsion.

They worked at their own shoeshine booths, or their own fruit-stands or restaurants; they took on unfamiliar occupations such as cooking, rather than submit to an employer.

TIME

Greeks "pass" the time; they do not save or accumulate or use it. And they are intent on passing the time, not on budgeting it. Although city people say that this picture is changing, that they are now made aware of the need to use time, the attitude is still widely prevalent, even in the area of private life among the urban groups.

The clock is not master of the Greek: it does not tell him to get up, to go to the field. In most villages, in spite of recent changes, the peasants still get up at sunrise or dawn to go to the fields, and return at sundown. The day is made for work. At night women visit and gossip; men join them or go to the coffee house; there is story-telling, and ardent political discussion; and as for any work done after dark, "the day takes a look at it and laughs". Wherever there is no law to the contrary, a man opens his store in due course, not by the clock; however, in the cities he now functions under clocked time because he comes under government and union regulations. Even in the United States, though conservative Greek business men have adapted their business life to the time of the clock, in their private life and at social gatherings they function irrespective of the clock.

It is distasteful to Greeks to organize their activities according to external limits; they are therefore either early or late, if a time is set at all. At church the people are not impatient while waiting for Mass to begin; and the church fills only gradually. They know when to go to church; yet when a foreign visitor inquires as to the time of a certain Mass, the subject creates a discussion; and eventually the answer will be something like: "Between 2 and 3." And when Greeks who follow their traditional ways invite, they say, not: "Come at 7 o'clock," but: "Come and see us." To arrive to dinner on time is an insult, as if you came just for the food. You come to visit, and the dinner eventually appears. Among urbanized Greeks, this custom now seems burdensome, and there are many cartoons on the subject.

The dinner is not planned to appear at a predetermined time; and the housewife does not cook by the clock. She tells by the smell or the consistency, or the colour, or the resistance against the stirring spoon; or the passing of time is gauged by the intervening activities. Conservative Greek women in the United States, even after a residence of many years, banish from the kitchen the interfering clocks which are introduced by their American grandchildren. Greek men and women work expeditiously, as a rule, but do this best at their own rhythm; any need to hurry is external and interfering; it introduces

fuss and disturbance. Efficiency can usually be found when it is not a conscious end. 805 461

To introduce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly abhorrent to Greeks, though this has to be done where factories set time limits. Dinner is served when it is ready, and without regard to efficient consumption. The fish is not fileted, the nuts are not shelled, the fruit is not sliced. The eater will spend a long time removing infinitesimal bits of flesh from the head of a small fish. All this is part of the process of eating, which is more than the naked act of consumption. He will end his meal with an orange which he will peel with virtuosity, leaving the peel in one piece; to consume an orange in the form of juice is to take all the meaning out of the act. 805 469 252

Greeks in the city, in some circles, find the need of hurry entering their lives. They are not at home with it. For the Greek traditionally, to work against time, to hurry, is to forfeit freedom. His term for hurry means, originally, to coerce oneself; and a visitor arriving out of breath may say: "I have hurried," but the form in which the word is more often used is "Don't hurry." One does not admonish another to coerce himself, and a mother does not constantly ask her child to hurry up, unless perhaps she is following the new books on child training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own pace. But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness. There is the gentle hint: "Won't you make speed?" There is the reassuring "I have finished," meaning "I am coming to the end as fast as I can," and there is the urgent call for help: "Arrive!" 805 195 [269] [355]

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now, both in the city and the village. Watches are an important part of a man's trappings, and of a girl's adornment. Clocks are necessary to complete the furnishing of a house. It is not essential as a rule that they keep good time, or that they run at all. If they are in good running order, and are in use, their function is one of reference; they do not shape the household life. They give information and satisfy curiosity; they do not tell the wife that it is now time to start cooking or serve the meal. However, there are exceptions to this, particularly among the few mothers who follow the child training directions for rigidly scheduled feedings and bedtime. Villagers speak of hours and minutes, but these are merely references to the passing of time, rather than its measure. Visitors, asking how far it is to the next village, find that "five minutes" may mean half an hour or two hours, but they find that the answer "A cigarette away" does provide an accurate measure. 805 [405] [301] [353] [655] [809]

In spite of the prevalence of timepieces, the church bell and the school bell, and even a cannon blast, continue to have active functions in calling adults or children to pre-arranged gatherings or communal village work. Even in the cities, people are called "Englishmen" when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments. People often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other [202]

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
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805 person is also just arriving, or, if they find him gone, they usually accept the fact with neither apology nor frustration.

STANDARD OF LIVING

511 The standard of living is set, not by a scheme, but by the needs of the person, shaped and channelled by family role, as well as by [107] disdain for softness and love of simplicity. Greeks do not budget, except for a very few who like to follow American ways. They spend not according to what they have, but according to the order of what [597] they want, and, on principle, they should want little. Simplicity and frugality are expressions of fortitude and self-discipline, and they are also really enjoyed as dimensions of living. Greeks are not motivated by the thought of great or vague or schematic future benefits; however, since the family is central to all planning, and since it extends into the future, Greeks try to see to it that there are means for the education of the son or the dowry of the daughter, or for an added field or a gold ornament for the wife. They have no faith in the future, and know that it will not take care of itself. So, as a rule, they buy only what they can pay for now and will not expand either business or standard of living on the basis of future profits.

[426] Greeks go in debt for subsistence and what they consider necessities. They do not like to borrow for luxuries, or for the creation of wealth. If they have enough for necessities, then any rise in income is sheer surplus. It does not have to go towards relieving the strain on the budget, or to pay a dreaded instalment on a radio, and, as a rule, it does not raise the standard of living. The Greek likes his life; [262] he does not see why he should give up his lunch of cheese and bread, or his delicious *commatiasta* (stews) just because now he can afford roast lamb every day. Such things belong to festive occasions. The surplus will be put back into the business, or saved intact for the family, or given in beneficence.

511 556 457 The wealthy Greek "of good family", that is, who has been properly brought up, is not distinguished by luxurious living, since luxury is soft and ostentatious. He is distinguished by his gifts to his country or village, by the battleship or stadium that bears his name, the village fountain or health centre which he established for his district. Large sums of money are sent annually to Greece by its emigrated sons for these purposes, as well as for the support or education or dowering of relatives, by people whose wives do their own housework. Greece has counted on these sums as an important source of income, and the economy of Greece now suffers from the effects of restricted emigration, since American-born Greeks lose contact with their parents' country, and fewer such sums are now being sent back.

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THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

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I do not envy others for their vineyards and their gardens,
I envy only those who can stay in one place
And most I envy those who have brothers and first cousins
To grieve with them and rejoice with them
And to help each other when anything befalls.
(Cretan folksong)

Greek society starts with the family, and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains part of the group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration, are all in terms of this unit, and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children, and the relatives. He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family, by day or by night, though pediatricians protest against the latter practice. He goes to church with the family, attending the regular liturgy, not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious ceremonial occasions come late at night, such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight, the children are present. Except where foreign customs have been taken over, a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday. What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named, and it is his family who celebrate. Old and young come to congratulate the family, and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years. The family, containing the child, is the focus, not the child himself.

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The Greek family is family-oriented. It makes room for the child, and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child, expects her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child. On the other hand, the child is not the focus, and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special mealtimes for the child, neither are the family mealtimes shifted to accommodate its needs. If the father leaves the fields or closes his store on the child's nameday, it is because the *family* is celebrating. The child in the family is neither outstanding nor disruptive; but he is important, since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family.

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In a Greek family the members spend much time together. The children learn to enjoy being with the adults, and to listen to their conversation, which is not trimmed down to meet the children's interests. In the village, a house often consists of only one room, so there is no physical privacy; and even when there are more rooms for summer living, the winter room is one. And shared living is prized. There is no craving for aloneness, although aloneness is

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accepted without complaint when necessary, as a hardship to be borne with fortitude. Sisters like to share a room, and even a bed; mothers like to work with their daughters, whom they do not consider to be underfoot. It is not contrary to peasant ethics for children of mixed sex to share sleeping quarters. Family matters are discussed by all, and children over 10 often have a voice in important decisions such as the buying or selling of a field.

Greeks value freedom and self-dependence, but the unit of self-dependence is not the individual but the family. The family is an organic whole, a system of delicately balanced roles and interrelationships. Older siblings are responsible for younger siblings, males for females. A Greek never ceases to have a claim on his family; a married son or daughter cannot be poor, starting at the bottom of the financial scale, while the parents thrive financially. A married son asks his father for help in business without losing *philotimo* or becoming dependent in character. A daughter asks for the things she cannot afford to buy. This is not dependence, it is one's rightful place within a structured, balanced whole. There is no virtue in being self-dependent in relation to one's family. But the family must be self-dependent in relation to the world, except in so far as it has a claim on government aid.

Equality within the family is a matter of personal essence, not of fairness of apportionment. An uneducated older brother is proud without bitterness of the younger brother whom he helped make a doctor. The family may impoverish itself for the education or dowering of one of the children, and the successful life of these children brings honour to the whole family. It is not uncommon to find that a man has remained unmarried so as to support his widowed sister and her family, or in order to earn a dowry for a large number of sisters. The need for obtaining these dowries was one of the main incentives for emigration to the United States. The responsibility for younger relatives is also at the base of the apportionment of positions and appointments of people who are not fitted by training or deserving by merit. A man who has been educated by older brothers who have stayed in the village working in the fields and vineyards, and who now holds a high government position, owes it to his family and to his role within it to find positions for his nephews. If he does not, he fails his family, he does not uphold the family *philotimo*, he is not a good Greek.

On the other hand, a father does try to see to it that he gives some property to every child, to sons for farming, to daughters for a dowry. This is at the base of much of the agricultural difficulty facing Greece at present, since fields have been divided, often into strips measuring a fraction of an acre, and require consolidation before effective use of mechanized farm implements can be made, as well as for contour farming and efficient fertilization.

"We moved to Athens as a family," said an islander, "my mother, her sisters and brothers, my grandfather, all the family." The Greek family is extensive, and in each case the term must be examined to find out what it includes. Second and third cousins are often in contact, and responsibility is felt for them also. They form links in the chain of relationship, so that personal contacts can be initiated. If a boy goes to Athens to attend the university, "if he has no uncles or other relatives, he rents a room". A Greek giving news usually speaks of "we" and the stock phrase beginning a letter is addressed to the plural "you", and refers to "we".

The father is in authority and he must be obeyed by all. A mother must be obeyed by the children, except when the oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son, whatever his age, has to be circumspect in the presence of his father; he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern, and a considerate man, finding his son there, leaves the place. A wife waits upon her husband, and does not question his acts. If he fails her, if he becomes a drunkard or gambles away the family money, her *philotimo* will not allow her to reveal this, except, perhaps, to the priest. This is a matter of role and loyalty; it is not subservience. Greek women by tradition wait upon men, expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross the bridge ahead of them; this does not make for inferiority, just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first, or to bring her water. The mother is a powerful and dominant figure, upholding fortitude and *philotimo*, sustaining her children in moral strength. There is no chivalry toward her in the village because there is respect for her. If her husband rides the only donkey, which she brought as dowry, while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so. In the folk songs, girls are jealous of their rivals because they can wait on the man they love; this is the coveted role.

The relatives-by-marriage, the *sympetherica*, are also important in the Greek relationship group, and the older brother-in-law often functions as an older brother. The whole family is therefore concerned with the marital arrangements of the individual. Arranged marriages, with great stress on the dowry, were the rule until recent years, and are still common. The dowry persists, even when the marriage is individually arranged, and often interferes with higher education for the girls; money is spent for the sons' education, but must be saved for the daughters' dowry. Whether the dowry is demanded or not by the groom's family, it is to the honour of the bride's family to give it. In conservative areas and circles, girls still meet young men only in groups, still communicate with them only with their eyes or in secret correspondence and secret meetings; however, there is

increasing freedom in the lives of young people, particularly in Athens. Yet here too the web of relationships and extended responsibility is so widespread that the family, in effect, has its eyes on the young people wherever they go.

MATERNAL AND CHILD CARE

The Greeks love children. Boys are generally preferred; traditionally, sons are a sign of family vigour. Besides, a family not only loses its daughters, it has to pay out property with them. Childlessness is a terrible calamity, and the woman is held responsible. People say "the poor man", pitying the husband for his wife's sterility. A recent magazine report on current scientific discoveries combats this belief, telling its readers that potent men have been found to be sterile and that therefore wives are not always at fault for the childlessness of the family. Women fear to have anything done to their reproductive organs and will accept "maternity difficulties" without asking for medical help, lest this might somehow harm their fertility. A book on maternal and child care, *For the Mother*, urges that before marriage, both family histories be examined for possible sterility.

For the Mother urges young people to choose mates with a view to progeny. As a sanction, it mentions that the ancient Greeks urged eugenic marriages; and that the term "eugenics" was invented by Xenophon. Young people are advised to see a doctor before making the final decision. They are further advised to choose according to firmness of flesh and orderliness of features and limbs, for seriousness tempered with cheerfulness, for optimism implemented by effective energy. Marriage with kin, and with people having family histories of tuberculosis, syphilis, alcoholism, psychasthenia, is to be avoided.

According to this manual, a young woman beginning a pregnancy is expected to notice first an indisposition, accompanied by the non-appearance of the menses: this the husband diagnoses for her with great joy. Next come the food whims and the nausea, and this is the time to go for obstetrical advice. The first two months are the critical ones for the life of the embryo; therefore, a mother is urged to take a vacation in the second month. After that she may resume her normal activities, taking care only to avoid over-exertion and jerky movements In the last month she should not immerse herself in bathing, because of the danger of infection; for the same reason, she should avoid sexual intercourse in the last three weeks. In the last two weeks she should avoid all exertion. She should sleep eight to ten hours daily during her pregnancy, never more, lest she become listless and melancholy. She should avoid large social gatherings, she should not play cards, she should drink nothing stronger than light wine, she should eat meals as balanced as is consistent with her means and her

normal diet. Her relatives should see to it that her days are calm and happy, and that she is surrounded by pictures of beautiful scenery and beautiful people, so that her baby will be beautiful. 843

Pregnancy is pictured here as a period of joyous anticipation. In the morning, after the fourth month, the mother is awakened by her gambolling embryo, who is saying to her, "Wake up, Mama; don't be in a hurry; I am coming gradually and constantly." She takes care of her breasts, massaging them and elongating the nipples, thinking of her baby. She prepares the layette, embroidering the pieces, caressing them and showing them to her visitors, taking joy in them.

Throughout her pregnancy a woman is expected to eat everything she craves. She can knock on any door where she smells cooking food and ask for a "smell". The satirist reporting on the Court of Petty Offences describes a case where a man complains that his neighbour has been pregnant almost steadily for four years, and that her pregnancies are too great a drain on his purse; the judge advises him to move to another location. The case is unusual, but not far-fetched.

There are pre-natal clinics as well as well-baby clinics, maintained by the state in the cities and provincial centres. Midwives are trained in a state institution and work in close co-operation with obstetricians. In many villages, however, there are no trained midwives available, and there is recourse to the "wise woman". The manual, *For the Mother*, gives a list of things to be prepared for a home birth; but many women in the cities, when they can afford it, prefer an obstetrician and a hospital delivery. [943] 844 759 [369]

Childbirth is an occasion of great importance. The mother has something of the Madonna about her now, and is idealized by all, and particularly by her husband, who offers her a second courtship at this time, bringing her special sweets and ornaments. The word *lecho*, describing her through her lochial period, is emotionally charged. Traditionally, a *lecho* is bedridden for eight days, and is under special regulations for the first 40 days. She may not go out until the "40 days" are over, and then she goes first to church. In some areas, no one is allowed to enter the house after sunset, until the 40 days are over. 844 846

Greek babies are swaddled except in very rare cases where a completely foreign manner of upbringing is followed. The newest manuals suggest half swaddling for the three months, that is, swaddling only of the trunk of the body, with legs and arms free. But this much is at any rate considered essential for a straight and firm back. In Athens there is a range of swaddling; simple people often swaddle completely for at least three months, but may leave the baby's arms and legs free by day after the fortieth day. In the village, the old swaddling is practised for the most part, along with the newer ways. Traditionally the baby is swaddled all over, until it is a stiff bundle. Each knee is straightened out; in many regions, each leg is wrapped separately, 854 856 [369]

854 and then the two are wrapped together; the arms are pressed against
856 the sides and then the swaddling cloth is wrapped tightly over all. Swaddling is imperative to make the baby grow straight, tall and strong; most of all to prevent it from becoming crooked.

As we have mentioned, traditional and scientific opinion agree that the baby must never be held nestling in the crook of the arm until it can sit up by itself. The gesture of mother love is not that of the curved arms. Even an unswaddled baby is held like a long stiff bundle against the body within an imaginary swaddling band. In villages, babies are often carried in slings, lying stiffly against the mother's hip and swinging with her walk; or they are carried standing in the sling against her back. The Greek cradle is a swing, which can be moved near to where the mother is working, so that she can pull the rope to rock it. At night it is put beside her bed. The pediatricians inveigh strongly against its use, considering that it spoils the baby, urging the use of bassinets and cribs.

853 It is important that the baby be breast-fed; in fact this is taken for granted. According to the child care manuals, it is extremely rare for a mother to have no milk, and slightly less rare that she have
369 not enough milk. The city pediatricians find it necessary, however, to make impassioned pleas for the mother's own milk, pointing out the dangers incurred in engaging a wet-nurse, the criminality towards one's own baby, who has an inherited right to his mother's milk, and the crime against the baby of the wet-nurse, who has been left in the village without a mother. Women are reminded that the great Homeric mothers, Hecuba and Penelope, suckled their own children. Some factories have baby nurseries, mainly to enable mothers to nurse their own children. When supplementary feeding is needed, it is to be given with a spoon, lest the baby find the rubber nipple
362 easier and refuse the breast. Asses' milk is recommended as nearest to mother's milk; cow's and goat's milk are recommended next to this.

Traditionally, the baby is given *glykanisso*, anise water, and camomile the first day, and is allowed to suck the colostrum the second day. Pediatricians urge that all ingestion should begin with suckling and that no other food be given. Babies are to receive no solid food until the sixth or even the eighth month. Nursing is recommended until the fourteenth month, or even up to two years; and the two year
364 period is traditional. Weaning is gradual; pediatricians as well as tradition recommend the smearing of bitter stuff, perhaps quinine, on the nipple, or the offering of sweetened milk. Nursing need not
343 be interrupted for a pregnancy and, in fact, may be good for the growing embryo. Juices of every variety of available fruit are recommended at three or four months, as well as strained vegetable soups. Traditionally, the baby joins the family at mealtime as soon as he can sit up; he is allowed to eat of the family meal, given choice slowly and carefully. At first, hard crusts and bones only are allowed,

so that fragments will not lodge in his throat. The pediatricians urge against this practice. They also urge rigid scheduling of feedings. The behaviourist principles of child rearing fit into the value of firmness, the feeding schedule falls in with the training of fortitude, and is introduced in the name of self-discipline, as well as for giving the mother freedom, that is leisure and freedom from encroachment. Few mothers, however, fall in with these schedules. 853

Toilet training is not mentioned in the two current manuals on child care. Mothers report that they begin training for urination at five or six months. Training for the bowel movement does not come until the child can sit by himself. Help in learning how to speak is suggested and described at length, but none for walking. Greek mothers do encourage their children to walk, however, and a folk rhyme says that a baby, "lest it be shamed," takes to the wall and walks at seven months. The manuals devote much space to character training; obedience is taught first, almost from birth; it is the parents' task to mould the character of the child, to be firm and unyielding. Mothers are urged not to be indulgent or overprotective. 863 856 [868] 867 [855]

The manuals devote about a third of their space to illness and home care. Under illness are listed sleeplessness, enuresis, thumbsucking, night terror, lack of appetite. Enuresis is said to come from irritation of the urethra, thumbsucking to begin around the fifth month from irritation of the gums. 863 053

In recent years, mothers have been urged to spend more time with their babies and to do more things for them. Among the urban well-to-do this means that mothers are urged to bathe, feed, and s[illegible]e their babies themselves. For other groups, this would mean a displ[illegible]-ment; the children are usually with the mother, working [illegible]n her and sharing experience with her; but to give them her undivided attention she would have to change basic attitudes, the ac[illegible] place of the child within the family and his assumed share in all its functions; and she must reorient the entire system of roles within the family. 854 182 [369]

The mother apparently takes no delight in the nake[illegible] baby, in touching its skin or watching its movements when freed from the swaddling cloth. Traditionally the baby, like the adult, is never naked. The baby's bath is not a special occasion of delight. In her lullabies, the mother shows no delight in any part of the child. She speaks of the joys of gardens, flowers, herbs and trees, but most of all, she tells of the rich clothes and adornments she is ordering from strange lands. She dreams of her daughter's wedding and her son's education. To the visitor, the baby consists of arms and legs; she says, first making appropriate allowances for the evil eye: "How his arms and legs have grown!" The mother coos and signs to her baby and smiles a special smile; she kisses his hands, she holds him in her arms. She calls him "My little gold, my little angel, my little bird, my little love"; she uses no terms derived from the sense of taste, unless she is a refugee 854 [291] [789]

854 from the interior of Turkey. On the other hand, she will say: "That I might eat you!"

855 861 It is extremely important for a child not to shame its parents. A mother, after a visit is over, will say to her child: "Bravo, my good child, you have not shamed me!" or "Bad child, you have shamed me." A child is addressed as "*my* good one", but when naughty, merely as "bad one". In fact, children usually learn early to behave in the [1084] presence of visitors. They are used to hearing their mothers praise them in their presence, and they expect to be asked to stand up on a chair and recite a poem or sing; such performances are carefully praised, with the precaution of symbolic spitting, to circumvent the evil eye. Children are also used to hearing themselves criticized bluntly by visitors.

The Greek child is given freedom in his behaviour, with the limits supplied by personal relationships. It is not wrong to be boisterous and noisy, but it is wrong to be so when Father does not like it, or during a visit, or when it disrupts Mother's work. The child is always on the periphery, never in the centre; the wishes of the elder members come first. A good child listens to his parents, runs mother's errands. He may be rewarded with a piece of candy, but small gifts of this sort are given so freely that the reward does not stand out. He is told folk tales of the little goat who disobeyed his mother, or the little lamb who obeyed, or the mother may invent such moral tales for the child.

861 Obedience to the father, the mother, older siblings, the older relatives and friends of the family in general, is very important. The dis- [865] obedient child "eats wood", but it is probably only the father who might pick up a stick with which to strike the child. A mother certainly does not give the child the equivalent of a whipping, though she may strike the child with whatever she happens to have in her hand. Usually she will merely shout at the naughty child, threatening to kill him. The child will run away, the mother will run after him, catch him by the ear and pull him back, or reach out and slap his face (*batso*, slap-on-the-cheek, is very common, as is ear-pulling). The child howls, but presently comes back to the subject of the disagreement; he is not cowed. After a series of violent threats and withering curses, the mother will hug the child. This is not seen as rejection, and any lurking hostility is given full vent.

852 553 [608] Every baby is baptized as early as possible; until baptism the child is called a "little dragon"; it has no name. Naming comes only with baptism. The occasion is an important religious and social one. The godparent is chosen carefully, since this is a relationship which lasts for life, and broadens the all-important relationship circle for the child.

865 513 When a new baby is expected, the mother may tell the knee baby[1]

[1] "Knee baby" is a term used for the penultimate child, who stands at the mother's knee while the youngest child is held on her lap.

that he is to have a little sibling; or she may simply wait until the birth, and explain that the midwife brought the sibling. The knee baby is openly expected to be jealous, and visitors inquire in his presence whether he is so. When he sees the mother suckling the new baby, he may cry for suck too; in this case the mother will invite him to suckle on the other side, or offer him a piece of bread; or, if she knows him to be jealous or sickly, she may invite him on her own initiative. Such jealousy apparently does not last long. The knee baby is already used to having his mother shout at him and then treat him with warmth and gentleness; he does not find this condition changed. The mother makes no effort to hide her delight in the new baby, to share herself equally, with fairness. Instead, she invites the knee baby to share in her wonder and excitement over the new baby. He has already been sharing in her everyday life and work, and he shares in this also. Gradually, he takes on her attitude, the cherishing, loving, responsible attitude which characterizes the relationship of older to younger siblings in Greece.

There is a magazine addressed to parents, now in its fourth year; but Greek newspapers carry no child care sections, either on weekdays or Sundays. Of the magazines, only those catering to non-intellectuals, such as *Romanza*, carry child and maternal care information; the articles are usually translations from foreign articles. The material is generally developed on behaviouristic principles, stressing scheduling and isolation of the baby.

EDUCATION

Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece, and above all, professional education. The doctor, the lawyer, the engineer and the specialist have high standing and command large dowries. A university professor has high standing; a schoolteacher has the respect of the people, but has lost some of the standing which he had before education became centralized. The printed word is very important, even revered. It is traditionally so; the calends of Saint Basil, sung on the night of 31 December, represent the Saint as carrying a book and paper and ink-well. The lullabies often promise the baby boy a high education, the baby girl an educated bridegroom. In a folk song, a girl, rejecting a suitor, says she will marry only an educated man.

There has been universal compulsory education up to the sixth grade since 1911,[1] but the peasants, particularly the women, are reported to be largely illiterate. This is due only in part to the fact that money for girls goes into dowry rather than for further schooling.

[1] John Maurogordato, 1931, p. 85.

871 Not all the older peasants attended school as children, or attended
[912] it for more than three or four years; and often what literacy they
did have was lost in the course of time, because they had no op-
[917] portunity to use it. There are no libraries in the villages or in most
of the provincial centres. There is also no pattern of reading the Bible,
[979] which has maintained reading knowledge in other lands. In Greece
the translation of the Bible into modern Greek was forbidden until
recent years. The men, however, do read the newspapers with care,
829 when they find them, and they have a detailed knowledge and a private
[521] opinion on international and national events and policies; politics,
well understood, forms the basis of most discussions, in village or
city. The satire on the Court of Petty Offences reports a case where
two simple workers on the bus, engrossed in a discussion of the
Spanish Civil War, use the perspiring back of another passenger as
the map of Spain upon which to follow the manoeuvres of the two
armies. The incident is amusing, but not surprising to Greek readers.
A book on nutrition urges housewives to pattern their planning on
the principles of the British monarchy, not those of the Italian
monarchy, assuming knowledge of the principles underlying the
difference.

517 In the cities, there is much intellectual activity on a high level.
Many people write articles or poems or stories for their own satis-
faction in their leisure time. Conversation presupposes wide reading.
[814] The inexpensive paper-bound volumes of Greek works, as well as of
translations of foreign works, old and contemporary, make such
204 reading possible. There are 10 daily papers in Athens, and a number
of magazines catering to literary tastes, or addressed to simpler
people. Magazines carry reports of new scientific developments
throughout the world, and a number of educational articles. Those
addressed to the *cosmakis*, the simple people, carry articles on child
and maternal care, have cooking and sewing hints, as well as columns
of personal advice. The newspapers maintain a high literacy and
scholarly standard.

RELIGION

771 Religion and the Church are almost synonymous for the Greeks;
795 and the Greek Orthodox religion is entirely synonymous with Greek-
619 ness. When the Greek says: "Is he a Christian?" he means "Is he a
Greek?" The Greek Church is the main factor in Greek continuity
among emigrants nowadays. Throughout the past centuries, the
Church has maintained Greek consciousness in many communities
in Asia Minor, where the people spoke Turkish as a mother tongue
and followed Turkish customs. The few Protestant Greeks occupy
an ambiguous position and find it difficult to explain that they are
really Greek, since they do not conform to the tradition of
Greek [illegible].

really Greek, since they do not conform to the tradition of Greekness. 000

Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos*; merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. When a loved man, husband, son, brother, father, beloved, goes away with the merchant marine, or in the sponge-fishery, a woman makes a vow to the appropriate saint, to be fulfilled on the safe return. The islands are studded with small chapels which were promised on such occasions. However, priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.

Traditionally, Sunday services are attended regularly by women and children, perhaps less faithfully by the men. Ceremonials, however, draw the entire family. The ritual is not bolstered by strict limits of time or rules of silence. Mass starts in due course, a little early or a little late, not on the dot of an appointed time. Children run in and out between the aisles, and mothers whisper endearments to babies. A woman will break into a dirge during the Good Friday Mass of the Epitaph, mourning the death of Christ, or adressing herself in sympathy to the bereaved Virgin. The Mass before the midnight preceding Easter is tense with expectation; there is great release and spontaneous joy when Christ is announced to be risen, and the "Christ is risen!" with which all are greeted is a true, joyous message, full of the wonder and the reassurance of the renewed miracle; the candles lighted from the sacred light at this time are carried home with true concern for saving the flame from extinction.

Religion is so firmly entrenched and unquestioned that it can be taken with casualness and a lack of self-conscious effort. It is accepted and ever-present like the air. One talks about Masses and preparations for litanies, but not about religion. Religion is not a personal matter, nor is it a guide to conduct. People consult the priest, but in matters of human relations, or, at any rate, relations which are regarded as secular, not because they are assailed by doubts. Young men do not talk about the meaning of Christ in their lives, nor do young girls dream of entering a convent. On the other hand, the Saints and the Virgin often figure in speech: a man singing of his beloved likens her neck to an altar, her arms to church tapers, or he tells her that he worships her like the Virgin.

he worships her like the Virgin. A derisive Dodecanese anti-Mussolini song, composed during Italian occupation, makes casual reference to God and the beloved Virgin of the Island.

HEALTH

The stock phrase for beginning a Greek letter is "We have health and health we wish for you." A frequent form of greeting and good-bye is "Health to you", and this is also said to anyone who sneezes. Anyone wearing a new article of clothing is greeted with the wish that he wear it with health. The question "How are you? Are you well?" asked upon a meeting with someone, are real questions, requiring an answer. Health is good and important, it is desired, but it is not a preoccupation. The wish for health is not a sanction; one of the child care manuals uses this sanction in urging mothers not to let their young children play with the neighbourhood children for fear of contracting infections, but the other urges the mothers not to worry about microbes, since association with others is of primary importance. In general, however, health is not a motivation in nutrition, recreation, or housing. And human relations are definitely more important. It is terrible to send a member of the family to the hospital unless, of course, it is necessary for an operation. Because of this attitude, tuberculosis often spreads through the family, since very often not even the barrier of self-protection will be introduced between the ailing and the well. Added to this is the fear that, if tuberculosis is known to be in the family, it will be hard to get a son-in-law. However, if an operation is required, a woman will go alone from a village to a hospital in Athens. There is no rejection by her family involved here; in addition, the pattern of fortitude is evoked.

In general, people do not go to a doctor unless something is very wrong. They do not go for a general check-up, although the habit of going to maternal and well-baby clinics is gaining ground. If anyone is unwell, home remedies are first resorted to, and probably the wise woman who knows about herbs is called in. The manuals on child care have long sections, covering about a third of the book, on home care and the diagnosis of disease; and they urge the use of traditional remedies: cupping, the use of camomile and other herbs. When a serious illness is recognized, the doctor is called and vows are made to the Virgin or the appropriate Saint; a mother may vow a foot pilgrimage, or 40 daily obeisances over a period of time, or the gilding of the hands of an ikon. Much illness arises from the evil eye or magic spells, and can be counteracted by magical practices.

The tuberculosis division of the UNRRA mission to Greece reports the impression that there was only one half the amount of tubercu-

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete. Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes, since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a communion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special

264 titbits, additional dishes, or special table arrangements. It is an
594 occasion not to be treated lightly. Everyone down to the smallest child is present, and sits at the table throughout the meal. Everyone crosses himself at the beginning and the end of the meal. A blessing is called upon the meal, and absent members are remembered at this time. To quarrel at the table would be like "quarrelling in Church". Food is one aspect of this total situation, but it is not the entire end of the meal; and dinner is much more than food. Breakfast is not a meal but a light snack for individuals. The true family meal comes after
[461 one's day's "work" is over. Where people work until 2 p.m. and then
369] stop for the day, as in offices in Athens, there may be two family meals a day; but the family meal is usually the evening meal.

264 The meal is the supreme medium of hospitality. All hospitality
594 involves the offer of some food—a spoonful of preserves, coffee, brandy, nuts, fresh fruit, according to locality and time of the year. The meal goes beyond this. Visitors helping to re-establish refugees in their devastated villages report that the peasants kill their only hen for them, and fill their pockets with the few nuts they have. To invite a friend to dinner and take him to a restaurant is an insult, even in Athens. Restaurants are for foreigners and those who ape their ways, and for those unfortunate travellers who have no relatives in the city. There are also eating places known as kitchens, where men who work too far from home can get a home-like meal. A group of friends on an outing or out for a dance may also eat together, incidentally, but this is a different matter.

146 Traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for
261 you. In the cities there are at times articles published on nutrition.
855 The mothers read maternal and child care manuals which mention and describe nutrition, and perhaps they read the book by Dr. Katsigra on Food and Life, which tells them that all Greek food recipes destroy food values and transform the food into poison. Very few other Greeks are aware of these writings, or mention such
[369] things in conversation, however. In the cities where mothers have been taught to stress nutritional values, to feed their children by schedule, and to keep them from the social communion of the family meal, feeding problems are well-known; in the villages such problems are not reported. Children there are not urged to eat, and are not tempted with special foods: "Why should children not want to eat? Isn't food good?" If they do not like the eggplant dish particularly, there is always bread, and no one has ever heard of a child who does not like bread.

262 Greek meals are traditionally simple. There is always bread, and
264 every mouthful of food must be eaten with a bite of bread. Greeks at foreign tables find it very difficult to face food, even potatoes and spaghetti, without the traditional mouthful of bread; apart from distaste, there is a feeling of guilt at eating food without bread. In the

villages the bread is brown and home-baked, and it may form the complete meal, with olive-oil for dipping. If there is any other food, there is only one dish, containing a variety of ingredients which usually make for balanced eating through the day. The hot bean dish *(fasoulada)* for example, contains olive-oil, parsley, onions, tomatoes, and other vegetables, and, eaten with brown bread and perhaps olives and cheese, provides a complete nutritive meal, except that the proteins are not animal ones; and the writer finds it fit for a king. The Greek meal is not structured climactically. It may end with fruit, or a leaf of lettuce, or cheese; this, however, is nothing to look forward to but, at most, puts a period to the meal. It is the bread, the "food", that is the point of the meal. Greeks in foreign parts, who have taken on rich foreign desserts, often top their meals with a bite of bread.

In the provinces, very little meat is eaten. Through the week it is served, if at all, as a small ingredient part of one of the special vegetable dishes—dishes which are named after the main vegetable they contain. On Sundays, or when guests arrive, or on other festive occasions, there may be roast and potatoes; these are baked together and constitute the whole meal, with the ever-present bread. Fish is eaten in the villages wherever it is available. Processed fish—salted, dried, canned—is a great favourite, and salted roe, made into a "salad" is greatly enjoyed, and forms a regular item during Lent. Milk is consumed in the form of cheese and *yaourti*, a custard-like cultured milk; little is drunk. But the milk used is that of sheep and goats, which, according to Kaloyereas, is richer in fat and protein than cow's milk. In the villages, fruit and vegetables are eaten plentifully when in season; dried fruits and nuts are eaten, olives, cheese while it lasts, and a variety of legumes. There is skill in cooking, and since variety within a meal is not valued or demanded, the simple meals are much enjoyed, and wealthy emigrants, who have succumbed to the luxuries of the American meal pattern, often long for their peasant meals.

In the cities, the Greeks have learned to eat meat and to drink more milk. Here cow's milk and a taste for it have been introduced, and in the country around Athens and Salonica, the peasants raise cattle. Foreign packaged goods are in vogue in the cities, and people, in their desire to take on American ways, eat foods which are contrary to all Greek principles of texture. Oatmeal is eaten by young children and invalids under one of its American trade names, Quaker Oats, pronounced unrecognizably. As *vromi*, it is food for animals, and the word is reminiscent of "stench". According to Dr. Katsigra, much foreign fruit is also imported, and this has led to a demand for perfection in the appearance of the Greek fruit eaten; this means that the Greek fruit for the city is now picked unripe. City people eat mostly white bread. In general, city food, which conforms in externals more closely to the list of the nutritionists, actually seems to be inferior to that of the provinces. And city health is reported to have been

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much below that of the provinces, even at a time when the villages were suffering from the depravations of the civil war.

Lent does not affect nutrition significantly. Where olive-oil is not allowed, olives are; where fish is not allowed, fish roe is. In the provinces, not much meat is eaten, even before Lent; in the cities many of the people fast only on a few of the important days of Lent. However, now that mothers have been taught the importance of giving their children daily milk, Lent does have an effect in this area; milk is forbidden during Lent, and children have to fast at least during the latter part. Unicef has made successful efforts to persuade mothers to give their children milk during this period. It achieved this with the co-operation of bishops who drank milk during Lent to show mothers that, if the cause was good, it was not a sin to drink milk; only one archimandrite refused to do so, afraid to take on the responsibility of possibly leading the people astray.

Greek holidays each have their appropriate food. It is essential for the welfare, the religion, for the Greekness of the people, to have this food at that time. At a time when the Bureau of Welfare was set up to function only during emergency, it offered funds for the indigent at holidays for the purchase of the indispensable festive foods. If Greeks have any money to spend at such a time, these foods have a priority over everything else.

ATTITUDES UNDERLYING ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE

Greeks do not place a value on unlimited progress; what they want is the better than the present, or than the known. Modern Greek has lost the superlative of ancient Greek. To express *the best*, one now says, *the better of all the others*. And this expresses what is actually wanted. The American says, "the sky's the limit", but the Greek wants to reach the ceiling instead, something that he can touch and know ahead of time. The rest is a dream; he speculates about it as he speculates about what he would do if he were President of the United States; and he uses the subjunctive, not the future.

In this way, the attitude toward change is related to the place of the plan in Greek life. On the one hand, that which is a plan to an American, organizing and inciting to action, is a dream to the Greek, leading to quiescence or to oratory. The Greek mother of an American adolescent is shocked to hear her daughter express as plans, in the future tense, what she herself expressed in the subjunctive of the dream. Plans introducing agricultural and other change are formulated by foreign or foreign-trained technicians who say: "When I get to be . . . I shall do . . ." for people who say: "If I were . . . I would do"; there is a chasm between these two views of life.

On the other hand, the plan based on the non-experienced, on

abstract calculation, is meaningless to people for whom experience is body-patterned. More than this, such plans represent external limits and directives, and to this extent are hampering and even frightening. Charts and diagrams are now common in Greek books, but the lineal diagram as a blueprint of action is not within the framework of Greek life; the nearest most Greeks come to a diagram is a map, which is diagrammatic of something concrete. Foresight is good, and is extolled in proverbs; preparation is always present. But this is following along a known trail, repeating a known pattern with all its steps. For example, when a girl is 10 or 12, she may start working on her dowry; a good mother may start weaving for her daughter soon after birth. But this is to follow the Greek pattern of life, to behave as girls and mothers are supposed to behave. In the same way, a farmer has foresight according to occasions he expects to arise within a known situation. The planning is internal, arising from the rhythm of life; it is not something external to which the rhythm must be forced to conform.

This attitude presents difficulties, such as, for example, in industrialization in the area of food processing. Greek farmers will not deliver food for canning according to plan or schedule; they will use what they need and deliver the surplus. But factories and exporting houses cannot readily function without supported expectations.

Again, Greeks are motivated by demonstrated, concrete results, not by diagrams of future benefits, or by statistics. The great success of the DDT programme was due to its quick, clear, obvious results. Much of the success of new practices initiated under the auspices of the Near East Foundation may also be attributed to their principle of demonstration.

Another attitude concerned with the introduction of change is that of coping with what is there. Americans are ready to change anything that does not measure up to specifications, or even anything that can be exchanged for something more efficient, more convenient, newer. Greeks accustom themselves to inconveniences and cope with them; they do not do away with them. Greeks, after a visit to the United States, see their countrymen putting up with the same difficulties, the same time-wasting operations, the same discomforts, but when they ask: "Why don't you do something about it?" they are immediately branded American. Anything that still works can always be patched up and used; a chipped dish can still hold food, a suit may have a few spots and still be clean, a woman may have a number of ills and still have health, and people can still travel when the steamships are crowded three times their capacity, and cannot provide the beds for which the passengers have paid; why make a change? As there is no superlative, so there are not exclusive oppositives, and one learns to cope with the common ailments, the common inconveniences. So the man whose task it is to introduce change often has to point

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out the mote to which the peasant's eye has become accustomed, and even has to take in consideration the fact that the eye is actually adjusted to the mote, and that its removal would mean at least temporary disruption.

There is another side to the picture with respect to coping. Greeks are tenacious and resourceful in making the best of what they do have. A visitor reports that a gasoline tank that sprang a leak on the road was repaired with *loukoums*, the sticky Near Eastern candy; she reports having seen two men pushing freight cars along a railroad track, as the engine had been destroyed in the guerilla warfare. This attitude can be harnessed productively, and with benefit for people who derive a sense of enjoyment and achievement from it.

The sanction of the Church in inaugurating any change is essential; and so too, is that of the past, in endorsing practice, as well as a precedent for the introduction of change. It is well to remember that Byzantium and its civilization was part of the Greek past; and to remember that Rome was not. The Romans were barbarians; the manual on child care which urges mothers to suckle their babies like Penelope and the Trojan Hecuba, also urges them to give up the custom of swaddling the child's limbs, a barbarous and tyrannical custom practised by the ancient Romans. The past is mentioned in learned articles, in newspapers, in letters, in the oratorical conversation. It is part of the festive dressing of the naked statement.

The areas of vulnerability of the Greek *philotimo* must be remembered in all suggestions of change, as well as the pattern of relationships within which dependency is good and taken for granted. Greeks are ready to be treated as sons or nephews or younger brothers, within the balanced system of interdependency, and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), which has been giving welcome aid to Greece, just now is often spoken of as Uncle Truman, after the President of the United States; but it would be an insult to treat them as poor relations who are dependent through personal failure. Again, to be treated mechanistically, impersonally, is offensive; there is resentment at the fact that some of the foreign experts stay at hotels catering to foreigners, associate only with Greeks who follow foreign ways, and treat the rest of the people like figures on a chart.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the Greeks have a deep attachment to their way of life, however much in need of change it may be in terms of more recent scientific and economic developments. There are reports that in the provinces people who can afford to pipe water to their houses will not do so because they do not want to deprive their women of the social visit at the fountain, and of the walk back and forth. There are communities that decide not to have electricity, not to buiid a hotel to accomodate the tourists who are attracted by the beauty of the place, so that they can retain the ways they like, time-consuming as they are.

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The framework of experience and the structuring of the thinking processes must also be known before change is acceptably suggested; at any rate, it must not be taken for granted that these are the same for the Greeks as they are for foreign experts. For example, a child care specialist in the United States is inveighing against the prevalence of bottle feeding when she urges mothers to suckle their babies, but to the Greeks, she is, naturally, inveighing against engaging a wet-nurse. 178

It is helpful also to know what can be discussed publicly, and printed in the newspaper, without offence. The government calls artificial insemination "artificial reproduction". An attempt by the writer to elicit information on the subject under the term "insemination" from recently and previously emigrated Greeks, met with failure since the women (coming from sections other than Athens and Salonica) had not heard of the programme, and were hesitant to mention it to their husbands; they obviously felt that the investigator, as a woman, could not approach the men with such questions. 178 203 831

There is a recognized variety among Greeks; and the differences are a matter of pride to them. They do not want to be treated as if they were all the same. There is also a difference in the attitude toward change. The intellectuals, the men high in the administration, do believe that the main part of the Greek population is backward, and are often ready for drastic and iconoclastic changes. For example, late in 1950, when Attica was suffering from drought, the government considered having the clouds seeded. But the peasants have always had a solution for drought: the priest and the villagers walk in a rain litany around the place. Different regions also vary in their acceptance of the new: the Greeks who came as refugees from the coastal areas of Asia Minor are, as a whole, more ready for the new; they are more enterprising, more ready to take a chance on the future. 178 184 [189]

One of the Greek attitudes deeply imbedded in their social structure is taken up here at greater length, since it is basic to many of the proposed changes; this is the phrasing of co-operative undertakings. 178 476

The suggestions for changes in agriculture, industrial developments, for the introduction of sanitary measures, demand co-operation and participation by the people concerned in bringing about these changes. The conception of co-operation as developed in the urban, scientific cultures of Europe and North America, is not usual in the rest of the world. This conception involves a collective working towards an impersonal, abstract end; the joining of a group created with a view towards a future end; and the ability to trust the other members of such a group to act according to abstract, impersonal honesty, as, for example, to act believing that the statistics others present are objectively sound, and are not coloured by personal considerations.

The traditional Greek pattern, however, is that individuals work not collectively but within an intricate web of interdependencies and

178 476 mutual aid. The abstract end, unless it is part of the immediate, concrete situation, and unless it is implemented in terms of persons, is meaningless; what is meaningful, for example, is for the family group to work together toward the continued education or the dowering of one of its members; or of to the village community rebuild its destroyed coffee house together. A leader who has won the respect of the community, consulting and guiding rather than commanding, can create a co-operative unit derivatively; he enlists the personal loyalty of the people; the people will work for his sake and, incidentally, for his idea and proposed end. This remains within the personal framework.

178 554 59 476 Again, Greeks are *born into a group*, and many Greeks, except under foreign influences in the city, never *join* a group. They are born into the family, into the circle of family friends, into the village community; they do not have to please in order to belong, or to follow regulations. If they fail in their roles within these units, they are bad sons but they do not lose their membership. Only if they forfeit their Greekness in some way, perhaps turn traitor or change their religion, do they run the risk of being disowned. These are the units of co-operation, but they are rooted in the past, not created. There is no [192] Greek equivalent of the word "group" so common in the speech of Americans; words such as *omas* (mass) and *somateion* (body) are [807] used technically to apply to organizations. In school, the class becomes a group only in its opposition to the enemy, the teacher, in playing [570] cruel tricks involving co-operation; otherwise, what we find, even in this opposition, is cheating for the sake of a weaker student, or support of one student by another. There are individual friendships here, individual evocations of honesty. The American Farm School at Salonika works hard at making students realize that they actually form a community at the school, and at teaching them to co-operate within this framework; and the school reports that eventually the students do learn the new co-operative pattern.

179 476 517 Honesty exists, and is expected and respected, only where kinship and personal relations have been established, on a basis of trust and respect for personal worth. In American schools in the cities, American teachers have managed to convince the students that they can trust them as friends, and have thus changed the teacher-student relationship into one of co-operation and honesty. Foreign technical assistants have often lived in a world of their own, in foreign circles, and failing to establish personal relations, have evoked mistrust and dishonesty. Honesty toward fellow members in a created group can be achieved as the result of honesty and loyalty towards the leader of the group. However, it should not be taken for granted; neither should the Greeks be charged with dishonesty. Their framework of honesty is different from that known to the industrialized society of the United States and Western Europe.

There is at present a paradoxical situation in Greece. There is pride in the many co-operatives, spread throughout the country; there is delight on the part of some of the technical assistants because the groundwork for the introduction of necessary change is there, and there is dismay on the part of others that the Greeks do not know what co-operation means, that they have to be compelled to work for the benefit of the village, to be prevented from destroying its resources, and to be coerced to co-operate even in efforts for their own welfare. There is distress over the number of pressure groups created to get whatever they can from the government. All this is true. According to their own phrasing of co-operation and within the framework of the meaningful units, the Greeks were, and to some extent are now completely co-operative. Families and villages were responsible for their own indigent; a prominent peasant would impoverish himself to build a village school or improve the water system. They made their own decisions and carried them out; they chose their own leaders. The first co-operatives were started on local initiative in the last century. But later, the central government began to institute co-operatives on a foreign pattern, taking no account of the existing units of co-operation, or of the existing patterns of self-participation. The villages were not allowed a responsible role in creating the co-operatives—in fact, in co-operating. The state-financed Agricultural Bank has been in charge of creating local credit co-operatives but the peasants have felt that this was a government affair. Actually the rate, which was eight per cent at the time of the establishment of the bank in 1928, and is now as high as 18 per cent, with incidental fees, which peasants get from the bank through their credit co-operatives, does not seem to have been set with the welfare of the farmers in view, or according to their decision. In 1936, more than 3,000 of the 3,761 were credit co-operatives under the central supervision of the state. The others, such as the producers' co-operatives, were mainly compulsory. Such were the citrus growers' associations in Crete, the wine growers' association in Samos, Levkas, Attica, and Chalkis. There are now marketing co-operatives and machine-owning co-operatives, as well as a growing number of processing co-operatives. In general, the co-operatives are firmly controlled by the central government and the farmers are not even allowed to co-operate to the extent of electing their own officers. As a result, the attitude toward external authority has been evoked, and, in most cases, co-operation has to be compulsory as all government legislation has to be compulsory, and the so-called co-operative decisions are circumvented like all government decisions. Another attitude has also been evoked, particularly among those Greeks who welcomed the dictatorship; deprived of responsible decision and participation, these people fell into the pattern of accepted dependency; such people, unaware that they are "co-operating", say: "The government is

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taking good care of us." The government itself, aware of this shifting of responsibility and lack of participation, urges the people, in its organ, *The Battle for Survival*, to work for their own welfare and to turn to the State only for guidance, or when they can do no more for themselves. It tries to put this co-operation on a par with war, both in the title of its bi-weekly publication, and in the phrasing of its admonition. But the disrupting centralization, the hated interference, remains. "Compulsory free labour" is demanded of the farmers, and there is a whole class of compulsory co-operatives for the betterment of the villages. These are circumvented with the ingenuity born of long experience. However we also have a recent report of a village where everyone gets up when the church bell rings at four in the morning, to work, without compulsion, on some village project, with pride and enthusiasm. The work is done under the leadership of a villager respected for his ability and disinterestedness. It appears that when the co-operative pattern which is already present is utilized, the villagers will work together for the common welfare.

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